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THE JEWS IN THE THIRD REICH

by

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with the aid of the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association

1 1 1

THE BROWN TERROR

ADOLPH HITLER came to power in Germany on January 30, 1933 as head of a coalition government composed of Nationalists and Nazis, which was confirmed in office at the general election of March 5, 1933 by 52 per cent of the German people. Following the example of Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy, the accession of the Nazis to power—known as the “National Revolution”—was accompanied by a reign of terror. Responsible Ministers in the Hitler Cabinet have repeatedly stated that no revolution was ever consummated with less bloodshed. This contention may be accurate, since the Nazis came to power originally by constitutional means and not by an actual coup d’état; nevertheless, the consolidation of their rule, after the manner of most revolutions, was accomplished by suppressing constitutional guarantees and by systematic action against persons whom the Nazis consider enemies of the “new Germany,” including all “Marxists,” such as Communists and Socialists; all “internationalists,” including liberals and pacifists; and all Jews. Latterly, Catholics and even Nationalists have not been exempted.¹ This report will give a factual account of the measures taken by the Nazis against their political opponents and the Jews. It will not attempt to explain why these steps have been taken, as this subject has been analyzed in an earlier report.²

As early as February 24 Nazi Storm Troopers and some members of the Steel Helmet veterans’ organization had been inducted into the police as auxiliaries³ and the

control of law and order throughout the Reich was therefore virtually in the hands of the Nazis. Even before the election on March 5 many terrorist acts had been perpetrated by Nazis. A well-informed foreign observer stated on March 1: “The last few weeks have looked very much like a cold-blooded, long-drawn-out, diluted St. Bartholomew’s Eve.”⁴ The election itself passed off without disturbances, but in the succeeding weeks more and more acts of violence by uniformed Nazi Storm Troopers against Jews and “Marxists” were reported abroad. In the Reich the Nationalist *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ventured to say on March 13:

“Certain sections of the population in the large towns have been in a state of panic and terror... Whoever is guilty today of breaking into houses, of kidnapping, of threats, or of any other crimes and offenses punishable by law must immediately be handed over to the police.

“The houses where ‘political prisoners’ are supposed to have been locked up by private individuals must, if the police do not know of them already, be immediately indicated to the police authorities... Private revenge in blood must no longer be taken.”⁵

The occasion for this statement in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* was an appeal issued by Hitler on March 10 to his followers to refrain from molesting individuals and disturbing business. On the same day Captain Goering⁶ declared, in a speech rejecting the idea of using the police to protect Jewish stores: “We have been saying to the people for years that they might settle accounts with the traitors. We stand by our word: accounts are being settled.”⁷ Hitler’s

4. *Ibid.*, March 2, 1933.

5. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 13, 1933. This paper, supported by the heavy industries, was eventually banned on May 30 for three months; but was permitted to re-appear on June 16 after the editor, Dr. Fritz Klein, had been forced to resign. Cf. *New York Times*, June 17, 1933; *The Times* (London), March 14, 1933; and *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, March 17, 1933.

6. At that time Deputy Minister of the Interior for Prussia, Federal Commissioner of Aviation and Minister Without Portfolio in the Reich Cabinet. On April 11 Hitler appointed Goering to the post of Prussian Premier responsible only to the Regent (*Statthalter*) for Prussia, who is Hitler himself.

1. The so-called Communist menace, which was proclaimed after the burning of the Reichstag on February 27, was made the justification for a decree issued on the following day under which all personal liberties were abolished and the strictest censorship imposed. (Cf. Mildred S. Wertheimer, “The Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution,” *Foreign Policy Reports*, July 19, 1933.) The Reich government was given the right to enforce the provisions of this decree in the federal states, thus concentrating the entire police power, which had formerly been under control of the states, in the central government.

2. Wertheimer, “The Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution,” cited.

3. *The Times* (London), February 25, 1933.

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command to the Storm Troopers to cease acts of political terror, however, was broadcast over the government radio on March 12.⁸ It was immediately stated in Berlin that the Storm Troops had been restrained by Hitler's action, although reports of outrages against Jews and "Marxists" continued. The government attempted to convince the world that such terrorization as had occurred was perpetrated by "Communist imposters clad in Nazi uniform." In many statements government officials denied even the existence of a terror,⁹ despite the virtual admission contained in Hitler's order to the Storm Troops and the fully authenticated accounts sent out by all responsible foreign journalists. In response to strong American protests, Secretary of State Hull asked the American diplomatic and consular agents in Germany for a full report and, in an official statement issued on March 26, declared that "a reply has now been received indicating that whereas there was for a short time considerable mistreatment of Jews, this phase may be considered virtually terminated. There was some picketing of Jewish merchandising stores and instances of professional discrimination. These manifestations were viewed with serious concern by the German government."¹⁰

Reports of terrorization and further "preventive arrests" continued, the Nazis having set up concentration camps for political prisoners before the end of March.¹¹ Goering's promised action against the Jews apparently made a deeper impression at home and abroad than Hitler's appeals to his Storm Troopers. Large meetings protesting Nazi persecution of the Jews were held in the United States and elsewhere, at which both Jewish and non-Jewish leaders voiced their condemnation of Nazi actions. Within the Reich, the Nazis retaliated by using German Jews as hostages to force the cessation of anti-Nazi protests abroad. On March 27 it was officially announced that the "National Socialist movement will now take the most drastic legal counter-measures aimed against the intellectual authors and exploiters of this treasonable agitation which is mainly conducted abroad by Jews formerly resident in Germany." The same official statement announced the formation of Nazi "Committees of Action" to take measures against atrocity reports abroad by organizing a boycott of Jewish business men in Germany, and forecast the introduction of a *numerus clausus* for Jewish doctors and lawyers.¹²

National Socialist party headquarters issued a manifesto on the night of March 28 proclaiming a national boycott of Jewish goods and Jews in the professions to start on April 1 as a counter-action to the "lies and defamations of absolutely shocking perversity which have been let loose about Germany." This official declaration stated categorically that "Communist and Marxist criminals and their Jewish-intellectual instigators, who managed in good time to escape abroad with their money, are now conducting a conscienceless, treasonable propaganda campaign against the German people . . . from the capitals of the former Entente countries."¹³ The manifesto was accompanied by an official order organizing the boycott as follows:¹⁴

(1) "In every local branch and unit of the N.S.D.A.P.,¹⁵ Committees of Action must be appointed immediately to carry out a systematically planned boycott of Jewish businesses, Jewish doctors and Jewish lawyers . . .

(2) "The Committees of Action are responsible for the most careful protection of all foreigners without regard to confession, origin or race. The boycott is a purely defensive measure which is directed solely against German Jewry.

(3) "The Committees of Action must immediately popularize the boycott by propaganda and enlightenment. Its keynote is that no German shall buy from a Jew . . . The boycott must be all inclusive. It shall be undertaken by the whole people and must strike Jewry in its most sensitive spot.

(4) "In doubtful cases, boycotting of the concerns in question may be dispensed with until the Central Committee in Munich can make a definite decision. Party Comrade Streicher¹⁶ is appointed chairman of the boycott committee.

(5) "The Committees of Action must watch the newspapers closely and observe how strongly they participate in the campaign of enlightenment of the German people against Jewish atrocity agitation abroad. Papers which do not participate or do so only to a limited extent are to be immediately removed from every German home. No German and no German business shall give advertising to such papers. They must be ruined by public contempt and may be written only for their Jewish racial comrades but not for the German people.

(6) "The Committees of Action, in cooperation with the Work Cells organization of the party, must carry enlightenment into the factories as to the consequences of the Jewish atrocity agitation to German work and therefore to German workers. In particular, the workers must be enlightened as to the necessity for a na-

13. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1933.

14. Translated from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, March 29, 1933.

15. *National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei* (National Socialist German Workers' party).

16. Julius Streicher had been a school teacher in Nuremberg. In 1920 he became known as an agitator for a small group calling itself "German Socialists" and strongly agrarian in sympathy. He was particularly notorious as an anti-Semite and as publisher of *Der Stürmer*, a sheet with a large circulation devoted primarily to so-called Jewish scandals, treated in a fashion bordering on the pornographic. Streicher in the earlier years of the so-called *Voelkische* movement in Germany was a bitter enemy of Hitler, always striving to attain leadership in the movement. Cf. Konrad Heiden, *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, Rowohlt, 1932), p. 29, 53-55, 122, 178.

7. *The Times* (London), March 13, 1933.

8. *New York Times*, March 13, 1933.

9. *The Times* (London), March 27, 1933.

10. Department of State, *Press Releases*, April 1, 1933.

11. *The Times* (London), March 25, 1933.

12. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, March 28, 1933.

tional boycott as a defensive measure to protect German work.

(7) "The Committees of Action must penetrate into the smallest villages in order particularly to strike at Jewish traders in the country. It must always be explained that this action has been forced upon us as a defensive measure.

(8) "The boycott is not to start in a scattered fashion but must begin at one stroke and all preparations are now to be toward this end. Orders will be issued to the Storm Troopers to stand guard, beginning the second at which the boycott starts, in order to warn the people from entering Jewish businesses. The start of the boycott will be announced by placards, by the press, by handbills, etc. The boycott will begin at one stroke on Saturday, April 1, at 10 a.m. sharp. It will continue until an order of the party executive decrees its end.

(9) "The Committees of Action shall immediately organize tens of thousands of mass meetings which shall reach into the tiniest hamlets and which shall demand the introduction of a quota system for Jews in all professions . . . In order to intensify the effect of this action, these demands shall be confined for the present to the following three categories: (a) Attendance at German middle and higher schools (colleges); (b) Doctors; and (c) Lawyers.

(10) "The Committees of Action have the further task of seeing to it that every German who has any connections whatsoever in foreign countries shall make use of them to spread the truth in letters, telegrams and telephone messages: that peace and order prevail in Germany, that the German people has no more ardent wish than to live in peace with the rest of the world and that it is conducting its struggle against Jewish atrocity agitation as a purely defensive battle.

(11) "The Committees of Action are responsible that the entire struggle be conducted in complete peace and strictest discipline. Not a hair on any Jewish head shall be touched. We will cope with this agitation only by means of the decisive pressure of these measures."

As a result of this order, individuals and organizations in the United States and abroad having contacts with Germans were flooded with denials of the existence of a terror in the Reich and assured that German Jews could and did go about their affairs as usual. Nevertheless, foreign protests and reports of atrocities did not cease. The Hitler government, through the medium of the strictly censored German press, announced on March 31 that the "foreign atrocity agitation" was waning and therefore the boycott would be put into effect for one day only—April 1. It threatened to resume the boycott on April 5 if by that date the "foreign agitation" had not entirely ceased.¹⁷

Thus the boycott, originally proclaimed by the National Socialist party as distinct from the Hitler government, was actually carried out by the latter. On April 1 all Jewish concerns, with the exception of banks and newspapers, were placed under guard by Storm Troopers from ten o'clock in the morning until midnight. The Storm Troopers not

only tried to keep out the few who attempted to enter boycotted establishments, but pasted up signs announcing that "no German buys from Jews," smeared windows with the word "Jew" in large red or white letters, and similarly decorated the name plates of doctors and attorneys. In Berlin the regular police were apparently inactive, and "groups of Nazis with heavy, weighted riding-crops strode about . . ."¹⁸ Besides boycotting Jewish places of business, Storm Troop pickets kept Jewish judges, lawyers and jurymen out of the court-houses, admittance to the grounds of the University of Berlin was denied to Jewish students, and the Prussian State Library refused to admit Jewish readers.¹⁹

While the Jewish boycott was a strictly official matter, the terror which existed in the Reich during March was apparently due in large part to individual actions by Storm Troopers. This is evident from the contradictory statements made during March by Hitler in attempting to restrain his private army, and by Goering who, while exhorting the Storm Troopers to preserve discipline, openly incited them to fresh violence against the Jews. In the early stages of the Revolution, the Storm Troopers were kept busy for a time hoisting the red, black and white Imperial flag and the Nazi Swastika on all public buildings in place of the black, red and gold Republican colors.²⁰ This relatively harmless task did not satisfy the Storm Troopers whose leaders had promised them for a decade that once Hitler came to power they could revenge themselves on all their enemies, particularly the Jews. Thus the anti-Jewish boycott was an earnest of the government's intentions to put into effect the Nazi program, of which anti-Semitism forms such an important part,²¹ and also provided an occupation for the Storm Troops. The Nazis, in consolidating their power, had met with little or no opposition. Their opponents collapsing like a house of cards, the Nazis found themselves within a short time in complete control, and concentrated much of their fury and surplus energy on the Jews—who offered a convenient scapegoat. By placing the responsibility for spreading so-called atrocity stories on the Jews, the Nazis hoped to convince the German people that the reports of excesses perpetrated by Storm Troopers were false, and thus to clear themselves. By making German Jews hostages for the "good behavior" of the world, the Nazis apparently expected to control public opinion abroad as they controlled it within the Reich.

18. *The Times* (London), April 2, 1933.

19. *New York Times*, April 2, 1933.

20. The flag was officially changed on March 12 by a decree of President von Hindenburg. *New York Times*, March 13, 1933.

21. Wertheimer, "Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution," cited.

17. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 1, 1933.

POSITION OF JEWS BEFORE THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION

Although the boycott on April 1 was officially declared to have been instituted as retaliation against "international Jewry," the anti-Semitic measures taken by the Hitler régime since then seem to prove conclusively that the boycott was merely part of a carefully planned campaign against the Jews in Germany. Before discussing this "cold pogrom," it is necessary to examine the status of the Jews in Germany both in the Empire and the Republic.

According to the last German census for which figures are available, June 16, 1925, the total population of the Reich was 62,410,619, of which 564,379 were Jews,²² who thus comprised 9/10 of one per cent.²³ The anti-Jewish measures of the Nazis, however, affect not only those listed as Jews, but also a newly created class of "non-Aryans."²⁴ Although no official figures are available, it is estimated that this "non-Aryan" category comprises approximately two million Germans,²⁵ making a total of 2½ million persons in the Reich who, according to Nazi standards, are classified as Jews. In analyzing the rôle of the Jews both under the Empire and the Republic, the available data concerns only those officially listed as Jews.

In Imperial Germany almost no Jews held posts as officials in the civil service, the army or the navy. As a result of their position, the largest number of Jews turned to commerce, industry and banking.²⁶ Those Jews desirous of entering professional life became for the most part doctors or lawyers, the two branches most readily open to them, which accounts in part for the relatively greater percentage of Jews in the liberal professions. During the war 96,327 Jews, or 17.3 per cent of the Jewish population, served in the German army and navy. The percentage of Germans with the colors was slightly higher, 18.73 per cent, but the fact that the Jewish birth-rate had been falling steadily²⁷ for some time was apparently responsible for the existence of fewer Jewish than non-Jewish males of military age. Of the 96,000 enlisted Jewish soldiers and sailors, approximately 12,000 were killed, 78 per cent were at the front, and 12 per cent of those with the colors were volunteers.

22. *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich, 1931* (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1931), p. 15 et seq.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 15. The above percentage is calculated on the same territorial basis as that for 1925.

24. Persons one of whose parents or grandparents were Jewish. Cf. p. 179.

25. *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, July 18, 1933.

26. Heinrich Silbergleit, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Berufs-Verhältnisse der Juden im Deutschen Reich* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1930), Vol. I, p. 89.

27. The Jewish birth-rate fell from 32.26 per thousand in 1880 to 16.55 in 1910. The total birth-rate for the same period fell from 41.05 per thousand to 33.05. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

These figures are particularly important in view of the Nazi contention that most of the Jews who fought in the war held soft posts behind the lines.²⁸

The establishment of the Weimar Republic undoubtedly improved the status of the Jews. The largest proportion still found its way into commerce and industry, although many more than formerly entered the public administration. There are no reliable figures available for the occupational distribution of the Jews in the entire Reich. For Prussia, however—a state comprising three-fifths of Germany—statistics compiled from official sources give a full picture of the situation: of the Jews in Germany in 1925, 71.6 per cent lived in Prussia, where they formed 1.5 per cent of the population as compared with 9/10 of one per cent in the Reich as a whole.

According to the 1925 census, on which the following data is primarily based, the working population in Prussia totaled 21,267,033, of which 225,523 were Jews, or 1.06 per cent.²⁹ Of the Jews gainfully employed, 71.7 per cent were engaged in commerce and industry, as compared with 51.7 per cent of the gainfully employed non-Jews. Only 7/10 of one per cent of Jews gainfully employed found their way into public administration, in contrast to 2.3 per cent of the gainfully employed non-Jews. The other professions, however, account for 10 per cent of the gainfully employed Jews, and 6.8 per cent of the gainfully employed non-Jews. The occupational distribution of both Jews and non-Jews is shown in the table on page 178.

The percentage of Jews in commerce and in the liberal professions is higher than their relation to the total population. They comprise, however, only 3.4 per cent of all persons engaged in commerce and business in Prussia, and 2.3 per cent of the professional classes. The Jews in public administration and government, on which the Nazis have laid so much emphasis, comprise only .32 of one per cent of all officials in Prussia.

In their anti-Semitic agitation the Nazis have continually stressed the fact that great numbers of Eastern Jews (*Ostjuden*) have entered Germany during and since the war and, in a period of severe economic crisis, have secured good jobs which should have gone to deserving Germans. Whether or not this Nazi charge can be substantiated, undoubtedly a large number of Jewish emigrants came into the Reich after the war, many if not most of them coming from terri-

28. Jakob Segall, *Die deutschen Juden als Soldaten im Kriege, 1914-1918* (Berlin, Philo-Verlag, 1922), p. 11 et seq.

29. It must be stated again, however, that the latter figure comprises only the Jews, and not the so-called "non-Aryan" class lately created by the Nazis.

tory which had formerly been German. Thus between 1910 and 1925 the number of Jews in Prussia increased by 37,093³⁰ despite the war, the economic difficulties and a continually falling Jewish birth-rate. There were,

in 1925, 601,779 non-citizens in Prussia; of this number 76,387³¹ were Jewish. According to figures prepared by the Nazis, 12,500 Eastern Jews became citizens in Prussia between 1919 and 1931.³²

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS AND NON-JEWS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN PRUSSIA

	Jewish workers	Non-Jewish workers	Total workers	Percentage of Jews
Commerce and transportation	112,188	3,135,957	3,248,145	3.4
Industry	49,318	7,722,481	7,771,799	0.63
Professional class ¹	9,761	422,572	432,333	2.3
Health, medicine and charity ²	8,297	348,119	356,416	2.3
Domestic service	6,338	1,085,097	1,091,435	0.58
Agriculture, truck farming, forestry, fishing	3,324	5,589,820	5,593,144	0.06
Public administration, officials of the law, army and navy ³	1,563	487,152	488,715	0.32
Without profession ⁴	34,734	2,250,312	2,285,046	1.08
Totals and average percentage	225,523	21,041,510	21,267,033	1.06

1. This group includes:
 - a. All clerics, workers in religious institutions and associations with religious aims.
 - b. All teachers, professors, etc., in universities, colleges, private and public schools, scientific institutes and art centers.
 - c. Lawyers and legal trustees.
 - d. Artists, scholars, editors, writers, persons connected with theatres, opera houses, music centers, cinemas, radio.
 - e. Persons in physical training centers.
2. This group includes:
 - a. All doctors and dentists.
 - b. All persons connected with hospitals, clinics, asylums, public and private.
 - c. All persons connected with bathing and swimming pools, masseurs, barbers.
 - d. All persons connected with life-saving and first aid stations, ambulance service.
 - e. Veterinarians, meat inspectors.
 - f. Disinfection service.
 - g. Street cleaning, canalization, garbage collection and comfort stations.
 - h. Undertakers.
 - i. Druggists.
 - j. Social services.
3. This group includes:
 - a. Diplomacy.
 - b. All officials of the Reich, states and municipalities.
 - c. All court officials in so far as they have civil service rank.
 - d. Army and navy, and military and naval administration, including military hospitals.
4. This group includes:
 - a. Persons living from private fortunes, *rentiers* and persons living on pensions.
 - b. Persons living from outside support (inmates of poor houses, etc.).
 - c. Inmates of insane asylums.
 - d. Students not living with their families.
 - e. Persons serving prison sentences.

THE "COLD POGROM"

Despite the relatively small percentage of Jews in the Reich, Hitler has told his followers for ten years and more that the Jews are responsible for all German difficulties, and promised that once in power he would eliminate "Jewish influence" from all phases of German life. The most important measure concerning the Jews which has been enacted by the Hitler government is the law for the "restoration of the professional civil service,"³³ for this has been the model on which all subsequent anti-Semitic action has been based. The Civil Service Law was promulgated on April 7, 1933 and went into force on the following day.³⁴ Since then the Ministers of Finance and the Interior have issued several decrees designed to carry out the law and defining its provisions exactly.³⁵ The law and the supplementary decrees are stated to apply, even when they conflict with

previously existing laws, to all officials of the Reich, the states and the municipalities, including not only the regular civil servants but also employees in semi-public enterprises and undertakings in which the government has a 50 per cent or larger financial interest. It applies as well to employees in the social services having the rights and duties of officials, while the Reichsbank and the German Railway Company are empowered to enforce its provisions. Furthermore, the following persons are included in the German civil service: judges; all court officials; notaries; teachers in schools, including teachers and instructors in scientific universities (*Hochschulen*); all professors; officials of the old and new army (*Wehrmacht*); members of the police forces of the states, not including officers, army doctors or veterinarians; elected municipal officials; and office employees and workers in public enterprises.³⁶

30. Silbergleit, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Berufs- Verhältnisse der Juden im Deutschen Reich*, cited, p. 37* et seq. The figures are: 1910—366,876; 1925—403,969. These compilations were made on the territorial basis of 1925.

31. This figure is included in the 564,397 Jews in the Reich.

32. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 12, 1933.

33. *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*. This law was promulgated directly by the Reich government under the authority of the Enabling Act of March 24, 1933 which vested full legislative power in that government for a period of four years.

34. Published on April 7, 1933 in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 176.

35. The following summary of the provisions of the Civil Service Law, and excerpts from the official commentary on it are taken from Hanns Seel, "Erneuerung des Berufsbeamtentums," No. IV in *Das Recht der Nationalen Revolution* (Schriftenreihe hrsg. von Dr. Georg Kaisenberg und Dr. Franz Albrecht Medicus; Berlin, Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1933). This series on the law of the National Revolution is the official publication concerning the new laws, etc., promulgated by the Hitler government. The amplifying decrees are dated April 11, 1933 (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 186); May 4, 1933 (*Ibid.*, I, p. 233); May 6, 1933 (*Ibid.*, I, p. 245).

36. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 30, 1933.

RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY CIVIL SERVICE LAW

The Civil Service Law provides that "officials who are of non-Aryan descent must be retired; in so far as concerns honorary officials, the latter must be dismissed from their positions." A "non-Aryan" is then defined as "a person descended from non-Aryan, particularly Jewish, parents or grandparents."³⁷ It suffices if one parent or grandparent is a non-Aryan. This applies especially if one parent or grandparent has professed the Jewish religion." Every official is required to fill out a detailed questionnaire giving information as to the names, professions, addresses, places and dates of birth, religion, and places and dates of death and marriage of himself, his wife, and their respective parents and grandparents. Proof is to be offered by presentation of such documents as birth and marriage certificates of parents, or military papers. If Aryan descent is questionable, a ruling must be secured from the "expert on racial research" attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Moreover, if the official is an Aryan married to a "non-Aryan," he rates as "non-Aryan" himself and must be dismissed.³⁸ All officials whose Aryan antecedents may be in doubt must swear to the following statement:

"I herewith testify on oath that: despite careful examination, no circumstances are known to me which could justify the supposition that I am not of Aryan descent or that one of my parents or grandparents at any time professed the Jewish religion. I am aware that I am liable to legal prosecution and dismissal from service if this declaration does not contain the truth."³⁹

The "Aryan paragraph" of the Civil Service Law contains provisions exempting certain "non-Aryan" officials from dismissal. Thus the law does not apply to persons "who held office on or before August 1, 1914 or who fought in the World War at the front for the German Reich or its allies, or whose fathers or sons fell in the war." Army service during the war is defined as

"participation with a fighting troop in a battle, a fight, a struggle for position or a siege. It does not suffice if the military service during the war was performed without having actually met the enemy, if, for instance, the person was merely in the war zone on official business or in the service at home or behind the lines. The promotion lists (*Rangliste*) and war service records (*Kriegsstammrollen*) are the only valid documentary proofs in determining whether the individual in question was actually a front-line soldier. A person possessing a wound certificate is always to be regarded as a front-line soldier without further proof.

"Participation in the fighting in the Baltic, in Upper Silesia, against the Spartacists and Sep-

arartists as well as against the enemies of the national resurgence counts equally with participation in the World War."

Besides stipulating immediate dismissal of "non-Aryan" officials, the Civil Service Law contains other far-reaching provisions. Thus "officials may be dismissed from service who because of their previous political activities do not offer surety that they will at all times act unreservedly for the national state." "Previous political activities" are further defined as membership in the Communist party or in its affiliated organizations; moreover, officials who have been connected with the so-called "*Schwarze Front*"—the extreme "National Bolshevik" wing of the Nazis—are to be dismissed as "unsuitable." It is further provided that every official must report to the proper authorities the parties to which he has belonged, and "parties" are defined for the purpose of the law as including the republican *Reichsbanner Black-Red-Gold*, the Union of Republican Judges, the League for the Defense of the Rights of Man, the Union of Republican Officials, and the Iron Front.⁴⁰ Furthermore, political unreliability is stated to be present "particularly when an official in word, writing or other conduct has come out in an odious fashion against the national movement [Nazi], has insulted its leaders or has misused his official position to persecute, to slight or otherwise injure nationally-minded officials. In such case, the fact that the person in question has joined since January 30, 1933 a party or organization supporting the government of national resurgence will not suffice to clear him."

The Civil Service Law further provides that officials who lack requisite education and training may be dismissed, and that an official may be transferred to a post lower in rank and salary—which allows the Nazis to demote "non-Aryan" and other officials who, because of war services, etc., cannot be dismissed. Officials who have been dismissed or retired may be prosecuted and punished for any dereliction of duty during their tenure of office. Persons dismissed on the grounds of insufficient training, "non-Aryan" descent or political unreliability are liable to be sued until April 7, 1934.

Finally, the new law contains detailed provisions concerning pensions. Officials dismissed on grounds of insufficient education and training do not receive pensions save in exceptional cases of destitution. Those ousted because of previous political activities are entitled to three months' salary and thereafter, provided they have held office for at least ten years, to three-fourths

37. In the decree of April 11, 1933. A decree of September 16 provides that any official can be regarded as "non-Aryan" whose great-grandfather belonged to the Jewish faith, even if he were baptized in the Christian church. *New York Times*, September 17, 1933.

38. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 4, 1933.

39. *Reichsbesoldungsblatt*, Reichsfinanzministerium, June 12, 1933, p. 31.

40. The latter organization was one of the principal supporters of President von Hindenburg at the last presidential election in 1932.

of their normal legal pensions,⁴¹ while a proportionate allowance is to accrue to their families after death. The same regulations apply to ousted Jewish officials except that they are to receive full pension.

As a result of these measures, any civil servant in whom the Nazis lack confidence, against whom they bear a grudge, or whose position some member of the party covets may be dismissed on the ground that his politics in the past show he cannot be entrusted as an official of Nazi Germany. In order to comprehend the radical changes effected by the new Civil Service Law, it is necessary to recall that in Germany under both the Empire and the Republic officials held a specially favored position and the public administration always enjoyed an enviable reputation for integrity, efficiency and stability. Before the war, in practice if not in law, higher officials were recruited from the upper classes of society and few Jews were admitted. Under the democratic Republic, however, the Weimar Constitution laid down the principle that "citizens without discrimination shall be eligible for public office in accordance with the laws and their capacities and merits."⁴² It stated that "officials shall be appointed for life except as otherwise provided by law," and specified the rights and protective measures applying to them.⁴³ The Weimar instrument declared that "officials are servants of the whole community and not of a party," and granted them "freedom of political opinion and freedom of association."⁴⁴

The new Civil Service Law offers a great contrast to previous legislative and constitutional regulations concerning the German civil service. In explanation, the official commentary on the new law declares that the

"government of national resurgence, in fulfillment of its tasks, requires above all the strength of the German civil service. The latter, however, once so highly respected throughout the entire world, has not remained unaffected by the influence and consequences of the revolution of 1918. With an eye to party politics, numerous members of the November parties⁴⁵ were allowed to enter the public administration without the required education and preparation. These people in many instances have not only displaced professional civil servants but through their incompetence, self-interest and, in fact, criminal acts have terribly damaged the prestige of the German civil service.

41. After only ten years' service, however, salaries are small; the pension allowance is also small since it is based on the last actual salary received.

42. Article 128.

43. Article 129.

44. Article 130. For a discussion of the question of rights, duties, privileges and status of officials in Republican Germany, cf. F. F. Blachly and M. E. Oatman, *The Government and Administration of Germany* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1928), p. 371 et seq.

45. The Social Democratic, Catholic Center and Democratic parties.

"Only by cleansing the civil service of these elements, part of which are of an alien race, can a national civil service be created which will not be primarily interested in material advantages but, as formerly, will recognize that its highest goal is uncompromising fulfillment of duty and will prove worthy of the national honor which is placed in its hands."

The commentary stresses the special importance of the "Aryan paragraph" and points out that this creates a "completely new law which is a conscious antithesis to the previous law. Specifically this paragraph and the regulations connected with it have already become the model for a series of other laws such as those for the admission of lawyers to the bar, the decree dealing with admission of doctors to practice under the social insurance laws and the law directed against the over-crowding of German universities [*Hochschulen*] and schools."⁴⁶ The commentary adds that these radical measures are essential for the welfare of the state and declares that they have not been conceived in a spirit of hate but have become necessary because of the increasingly dangerous alienization (*Ueberfremdung*) of the German people.

Lawyers

At the time of the general boycott, Jewish judges and lawyers were excluded from the courts although the procedure adopted varied in different sections of the Reich.⁴⁷ In Prussia, Nazi Commissioner of Justice Kerl issued instructions that all Jewish judges were to be granted immediate leave of absence and that the powers of Jewish court officials were to be cancelled at once. The declaration added: "Any Jewish judge refusing to apply for leave shall be forbidden to enter the court building on the basis of the law of trespass." Jewish commercial arbitrators, jurors, etc., were no longer to be appointed, Jewish states' attorneys and other officials were to be granted leave of absence, and only certain Jewish lawyers, not to exceed in numbers the percentage of the Jewish population to the total population, were to be allowed to enter the courts.⁴⁸ On April 7⁴⁹ matters were regularized by the promulgation of a law concerning the admission of lawyers to the bar,⁵⁰ which provided that all "non-Aryan"⁵¹ lawyers might be disbarred up to September 30, 1933. The exceptions to this ruling are the same as those stipulated in the Civil Service Law:

46. Many doctors and lawyers and all professors have the status of officials in Germany.

47. Calvin B. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich* (New York, Macmillan, 1933), p. 128.

48. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 1, 1933.

49. The date on which the Civil Service Law was promulgated.

50. *Reichsgesetzblatt* No. 36, April 10, 1933, p. 188.

51. According to the Civil Service Law definition.

no "non-Aryans" may be admitted to the bar; lawyers who have been engaged in Communist activities must be disbarred immediately; and disbarment is recognized as a basis for cancelling contracts already made with the persons in question.

As a result of the exemptions for front-line soldiers and pre-1914 appointments, however, a large number of "non-Aryan" lawyers were eligible to practice and Nazi lawyers, especially in Berlin, were incensed. On May 13, therefore, the Prussian Ministry of Justice published statistics concerning the situation as it then stood: before the "cleansing" of the bar there had been 11,814 lawyers in Prussia, of whom 3,515 were Jews and 8,299 "Aryan." Of the 3,515 Jewish lawyers, 1,383 had been admitted to the bar before 1914 and 735 had been at the front during the war. Nine hundred and twenty-three Jews and 118 Communists were ousted and in future, 2,158 Jewish lawyers were to have the right to practice in Prussia, the number of Jewish lawyers allowed to practice in Berlin being 1,203.⁵²

The situation of the Jewish lawyers in Prussia and throughout the Reich is far different from what these figures might imply. Early in July the Berlin Federation of Lawyers issued an order prohibiting Aryan lawyers from entering into partnership or sharing offices with Jewish lawyers, and dissolving partnerships of Aryans and Jews entered into since September 1930 even though the Jewish partner is entitled to exemption because of war service.⁵³ The press continues to report the dismissal of large numbers of notaries and lawyers.⁵⁴ Equally serious is the fact that an actual boycott is being enforced against Jewish lawyers who theoretically are eligible to practice. Early in June the Berlin section of the Association of National Socialist Lawyers sent a protest to the presidents of all Berlin courts against the appointment of Jewish lawyers as attorneys for the poor, official defendants, trustees and executors. These appointments, it was stated, were acts of sabotage against the measures enacted by the national government to restore German law, and gave proof that the judges who made such appointments were not ruthlessly enforcing the provisions of the Civil Service Law.⁵⁵

Doctors and Dentists

The situation in regard to the medical profession is similar to that of the legal profession, since the Jews have been especially

prominent in both fields. Most German medical men derived 80 to 90 per cent of their income from membership in the so-called panels of the health insurance offices. "Non-Aryan" panel doctors are directly affected by the provisions of the Civil Service Law and even though many are exempt because of war service, etc., their position is becoming rapidly worse. A special law of June 2, 1933 excludes dentists and dental technicians from panel practice on the basis of the Civil Service Law,⁵⁶ and in the social insurance clinics and offices patients may now refuse to be examined by a "non-Aryan" physician.⁵⁷ It is reported that 1,500 Jewish physicians have been expelled from the health insurance clinics in Berlin alone, and that at least 6,000 have been ousted in Prussia,⁵⁸ while practically all "non-Aryan" doctors in private health insurance institutions have been dismissed.⁵⁹

The situation in private practice is just as serious. The medical association has issued a regulation according to which German and "non-Aryan" doctors are forbidden to substitute for one another; German doctors may not send patients to "non-Aryan" physicians or call "non-Aryans" into consultation.⁶⁰ Furthermore, partnerships with "non-Aryan" doctors are forbidden.⁶¹ As a result of these prohibitions, plus the tacit boycott to which doctors as well as lawyers are being subjected, large numbers of "non-Aryan" physicians and dentists face a black future.

Professors and Students

The measures enacted by the Nazis against "non-Aryan" lawyers and doctors have had far-reaching effects on the status of law and medicine in the Reich, but the real foundations of the Third Reich are being laid in the realm of education. Not only will the rising generation be taught by "pure" Aryans, but there will be no possibility for German youth to become tainted by exposure to the hated doctrines of liberalism and democracy. Instruction will be given in racial questions; great emphasis is to be laid on the glorious history of Germany and the "shame" of the years 1919 to 1932; *Wehrsport*, i.e., military sports, are to have a prominent place in the curriculum for both students and teachers; and youth is to be imbued with real fighting spirit and extreme nationalism as the primary object of education.⁶² Fact-finding, painstaking research is

52. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, May 13, 1933.

53. *The Times* (London), July 5, 1933.

54. A further list of 214 dismissed notaries was published on July 8 by the Prussian Ministry of Justice, and on the same day an order was issued ousting 150 lawyers. *Le Temps*, July 13, 1933.

55. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 8, 1933.

56. *Reichsgesetzblatt*, June 10, 1933, p. 350.

57. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 28, 1933.

58. *Le Temps*, July 11, 1933.

59. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 9, 1933.

60. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1933.

61. *New York Times*, August 20, 1933.

62. *Prospectus of Hochschule für Politik, 1933-1934*.

no more; the Nazis, it is reported by competent authorities, "must think with their blood."

To put these theories into practice, German professors, instructors and teachers, including many of the most eminent, have been ousted from their positions. The Civil Service Law applies to them directly and, in cases where the "non-Aryan" paragraph was not applicable, the provisions in regard to "political unreliability" have often been used. "Non-Aryan" professors who might have been exempt as war veterans or who had been appointed before 1914 are being forced to resign by Nazi students who organize demonstrations against them and make their positions untenable.⁶³

While professors and teachers, theoretically at least, are regulated by the Civil Service Law, students are selected under the terms of a law promulgated on April 25, 1933 "against the over-crowding of the German universities."⁶⁴ This measure is designed, it is officially stated, to rebuild German education along the lines of the German heritage, by molding the youth through discipline and comradeship. The new laws are to introduce a complete educational reformation which is "to be worthy of the desire and the struggle of the German people during the past decades for inner unity and strength."

To achieve these ends, liberal hypotheses are to be replaced immediately by popular national (*voelkische*) hypotheses. As a first step, admission of students is to be based on entirely different standards than heretofore. According to the new law, students are to be admitted only in numbers consistent with the opportunities in the professions for which they wish to prepare themselves. New applicants of "non-Aryan"⁶⁵ descent are to be admitted according to a *numerus clausus* which limits the total of such newly entered students in any school and any faculty of a school to the proportion of "non-Aryans" in the total population of the Reich. A decree issued simultaneously with the School Law places this proportion at 1½ per cent of the students in a given institution of learning. If the percentage of "non-Aryan" students already enrolled exceeds 5 per cent of the total, it must be lowered to that percentage by dismissal of "non-

Aryans." The law does not apply to students whose fathers fought at the front during the war or to children one of whose parents or both of whose grandparents are "Aryans," if the marriage took place before the promulgation of this law. Obviously, the full effect of these regulations will not be felt for several years. Further regulations for candidates for the general *Abitur* examination, which must be passed before entrance to any German university, make possible the exclusion of candidates for alleged political heresy. All "Marxist" and "anti-National" students have already been ousted from Prussian universities.⁶⁶

Once admitted to a college or university, the students are officially organized in a National Socialist Association recognized by the government.⁶⁷ Only students of "German descent and mother tongue" may belong to this organization which represents the student body and has as its purpose "the fulfillment by the students of their duty to people, state and university." A decree issued in Prussia on April 12, 1933 by the Ministry of Education defines "German descent" according to the standard Civil Service Law terms. This decree also stresses the Nazi principle of "leadership," and declares that one of the purposes of the students' association is "the education of the students for military service and for cooperation with the German people as a whole by means of military and labor service and physical exercises," a provision obviously contrary to the terms of the Versailles Treaty. "Non-Aryans" are not admitted to the inner student life of the university, while German-speaking students from Austria and those countries which have German minorities are to be received into the fold. Two major planks of the Nazi program are here in process of fulfillment.⁶⁸

Jewish Cultural Activities

The cultural aspects of the Nazi revolution are exemplified by the *auto-da-fé* held on May 10, 1933, when books by Jewish authors, pacifists, so-called "Marxists," etc., were publicly burned by students.⁶⁹ An even more illuminating example is found in the "Theses" posted prominently on the bulletin boards of German universities, which state:⁷⁰

"Our most dangerous enemy is the Jew and everyone connected with him. The Jew can only think Jewish. If he writes German, he lies. The

63. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, cited.

64. "Gesetz gegen die Ueberfüllung der deutschen Schulen und Hochschulen," April 25, 1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, April 26, 1933, I, p. 225. The text of the law, as well as the texts of the various orders issued by Rust, the Prussian Minister of Science, Art and Popular Education, are given with official commentaries in Joachim Haupt, "Neuordnung im Schulwesen und Hochschulwesen," No. V in *Das Recht der Nationalen Revolution*, cited.

65. In accordance with the definition of the Civil Service Law.

66. Decree issued August 9, 1933 by Rust, Prussian Minister of Education, *New York Herald Tribune*, August 10, 1933.

67. According to a law of April 22, 1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 215. Included in *Das Recht der Nationalen Revolution*, No. V, cited.

68. Wertheimer, "Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution," cited.

69. A fairly complete list of the books banned is to be found in the *Essener Volks-Zeitung*, May 18, 1933.

70. *The Times* (London), August 15, 1933.

German who writes German but thinks un-German is a traitor. We censor Jewish works. We wish German students to destroy Jewish intellectualism. We demand that students and professors should be chosen from Germans and that the German spirit should be thus safeguarded."

A further indication of this "safeguarding" of the German spirit is to be found in the law ousting all Jewish actors, directors, producers, camera men, authors and conductors from the German film industry⁷¹ and the German theatre. Most "non-Aryans" have been expelled from orchestras,⁷² both as conductors and as musicians, and in principle no "non-Aryan" soloists may appear in concerts or on the radio;^{72a} so-called Jewish influence has thus been removed from music, literature and art. In the field of journalism, many eminent writers have been dismissed because of their race, and the confiscation of the entire Socialist and Communist press has thrown large numbers out of work. Furthermore, during the process of "coordinating" the non-Nazi press, numerous "non-Aryans" have been ousted.⁷³

Commerce and Industry

Nazi opposition to Jewish "intelligence" is apparent in these measures which not only make it practically impossible for Jews in the liberal professions to earn a living, but also limit the possibilities, especially in higher education, for "non-Aryan" youth to acquire training and knowledge. The fear and hatred of the Hitlerites for so-called Jewish business acumen is undoubtedly just as great, as indicated by their constant references to "Jewish materialism."^{73a} The thoroughness with which the Nazis have acted in economic life is perhaps not quite so marked as in the professions, where definite laws have been promulgated regulating Jewish participation. While the measures taken in regard to business have been far-reaching, there are some indications that concern over the grave economic situation may for the present have tempered Nazi ardor to "cleanse" business.

The effects of the boycott of April 1 on commerce, however, have outlasted the one day to which it was officially limited. This is reported to be especially the case in small towns and cities and, as recently as June 30, 1933 the city of Dortmund staged a private anti-Jewish boycott of its own which was declared a great success;⁷⁴ a week or so later the local *Dortmunder Generalanzeiger* warned all members of the National

Socialist party and related organizations not to enter Jewish business premises.⁷⁵ Instances of persecution can be multiplied many times. On July 20 in Nuremberg 300 Jews, chiefly shop-keepers but including several well-known lawyers and doctors, were arrested. Their houses were searched and they were made to march through the streets in a procession, flanked on either side by Storm Troopers, treated with derision and brutality, and finally interned in a large public barrack.⁷⁶ In Berlin the municipal authorities have excluded Jewish merchants from the public market;⁷⁷ in Munich the municipal council has decreed that no Jewish merchants may be permitted in the auction room of the city pawnshop or allowed to participate in the October Fairs;⁷⁸ in Hamburg no "non-Aryans" may have public telephone booths in their shops.⁷⁹ The National Association of German Shoe Merchants has demanded the exclusion of "non-Aryans" from the shoe trade, and that shoe shops owned by Jews shall be closed on Saturday as well as Sunday.⁸⁰ A final instance is the announcement that the government on September 30, 1933 will rescind all permits to trade on the Stock Exchange. Only those persons who fulfill the necessary "moral" and "technical" requirements will be readmitted.⁸¹ While these are scattered incidents, they show clearly the temper of the Nazi rank and file.

During the first weeks of the Nazi revolution, many Jewish members of boards of directors and management of important firms were forced out in the general coordination, or *Gleichschaltung*, of every aspect of German life. Even the powerful Association of Germany Industry⁸² was "coordinated" early in March 1933, and the co-ordination of all other trade associations, large and small, wholesale and retail, followed.⁸³ Nazi commissars were installed in almost all firms and zealously worked to purify business. As the first flush of the Revolution passed, many of the Nazi leaders apparently began to realize that business and industry in the Reich was being harmed by these tactics, with consequent detriment to employment. In July, in a series of speeches by Hitler and other Nazis, it was announced that the Revolution was over, that there would be no second revolution, and Nazi followers were exhorted to refrain from meddling in industry. Hitler, on July 7, went so far as to say that "an in-

71. *New York Times*, July 1, 1933.

72. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1933.

72a. The "Aryan" paragraph of the Civil Service Law is the definition used.

73. The National Press Law promulgated by the Hitler government on October 5 provides that every working newspaper man in Germany is to be regarded as a servant of the state, and will be held morally and legally responsible for his professional activities. The "Aryan" provisions of the Civil Service Code are incorporated in the press law.

73a. Wertheimer, "Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution," cited.

74. *The Times* (London), July 11, 1933.

75. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1933.

76. *Ibid.*, July 21, August 1, 1933.

77. *Le Temps*, July 15-16, 1933.

78. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 13, 1933.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

80. *Le Temps*, July 20, 1933.

81. *Voelkischer Beobachter*, July 6, 1933.

82. *Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie*.

83. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, cited, p. 137 et seq.

dustrial leader cannot be removed if he is a good business man merely because he is not yet a Nationalist Socialist, especially if the National Socialist being put in his place knows nothing about industry."⁸⁴ Whether this pronouncement will aid the Jewish business men who are still able to carry on is doubtful. In a decision of July 14, 1933 the Cabinet laid down a policy in regard to government contracts to be awarded "non-Aryan" firms. If bids made by German firms equal bids by firms whose owners or directors are "non-Aryan," the German firm is to be preferred.⁸⁵ On September 27, however, Dr. Kurt Schmitt, Minister of Economics, declared that discrimination between Aryan and non-Aryan business establishments would hamper economic recovery, and should therefore be discountenanced.

The situation of Jewish industrial and office workers is also difficult and uncertain. All labor, including the white-collar class, has been organized in the so-called "German Labor Front," and "non-Aryans"⁸⁶ have been excluded from this organization.⁸⁷ There have been reports that only members of the Labor Front would be able to secure jobs, and although these regulations apparently have not yet gone into effect, many Jewish workers were dismissed after the April boycott at the request of Nazi work cells and commissars. It is reported that the trades unions still accept dues from Jewish members, but since it is apparently a rule not to represent Jews before the labor courts, these persons are without legal protection. The situation is greatly complicated by the fact that a large proportion of German workers were "Marxists," against whom the Nazis have been as violent in their repressive measures as against the Jews. There is no reliable information available as to whether discharged Jewish or Marxist workers are still able to collect the dole, and the situation apparently varies in different sections of the Reich. In Hamburg, for example, the state government has stopped relief payments to persons who can be proved to have paid membership contributions to the former Socialist or Communist parties.⁸⁸ On October 2 the Hitler government promulgated the Hereditary Homestead Law creating a "peasant aristocracy," which is to consist of "Germans, Aryan and honorable." Under this law, "Aryans" are those whose families have been free of Jewish blood since 1800.⁸⁹ While very few Jews in the Reich are engaged in agriculture,⁹⁰ this is nevertheless a significant move.

The problem of citizenship for German

Jews has already received the attention of the Hitler government, which has thus acted in accordance with the official program of the National Socialist party.⁹¹ On July 14, 1933 the Reich Cabinet decided to withdraw German citizenship at its discretion from "undesirables" naturalized within the last fifteen years — between November 9, 1918 and January 30, 1933. Citizenship is to be withdrawn from Germans who have fled abroad if they conduct anti-German propaganda or if they do not return to the Reich at the request of the German government. The property of all such persons is to be confiscated,⁹² as well as the property of all "anti-state" elements, the Ministry of the Interior having the power to establish which persons and what actions are "anti-state" in character.⁹³

In conclusion it must be said that the position of all "non-Aryans" in the Reich is uncertain and precarious for, aside from the humanitarian and social aspects of the situation, their economic future appears black. The younger generation of "non-Aryans" will not only be unable to earn a livelihood, but the educational opportunities open to them even now are strictly limited. Despite the regulations requiring a special visa from Nazi authorities before any German may leave the Reich, large numbers of Jews, liberals and "Marxists" are refugees abroad. Many of them are without passports, and the severe German exchange restrictions have made it impossible for them to take what money they possess out of the Reich. These emigrés rapidly became a problem of international magnitude. On September 29 the Dutch Foreign Minister, Jonkheer de Graeff, introduced in the League Assembly a resolution asking the Council "to consider as soon as possible methods for bringing about a practical arrangement" for solving "the economic, financial and social problems raised by refugees from Germany." This resolution was referred to a sub-committee of the Economic Commission, which on October 6 recommended the appointment by the League of a High Commissioner to administer relief to German refugees. On October 7 Germany warned the League that it would oppose the adoption of the refugee resolution if relief was administered by a League agency.

⁹⁰ Cf. table, p. 178.

⁹¹ Wertheimer, "Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution," cited. This program states: "IV. Only a member of our own people (*Volksgenosse*) may be a citizen (*Staatsbürger*). Our own people are only those of German blood without reference to confession. Therefore no Jew may be a member of our people." "V. He who is not a citizen may live in Germany only as a guest and must be governed by laws regulating foreigners." "VI. Only citizens may decide on the leadership and laws of the State. Therefore, we demand that every public office, no matter of what sort, whether in the Reich, the States or the Communes, shall be filled only by citizens."

⁹² In the case of thirty-three persons, these regulations have already been enforced. *The Times* (London), August 26, 1933.

⁹³ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 15, 1933.

⁸⁴ *New York Herald Tribune*, July 8, 1933.

⁸⁵ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 4, 1933.

⁸⁶ According to the civil service definition.

⁸⁷ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 7, 13, 1933.

⁸⁸ *The Times* (London), August 7, 1933.

⁸⁹ *New York Herald Tribune*, October 3, 1933.